1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
AW42 Santal AW42

177 more manifest appearances. For this reason they particularly
178 oppose mixed dancing. As the songs above make plain, "pleas-
181 ure" is felt to be a detriment to study, hard work, mobility,
668 and the "progress" of tribals. Almost all Santal industrial workers condemn "too much pleasure," and even in remote villages it is generally felt that "pleasure" needs to be curtailed. However, it is only the educated, and not by any means all of them, who have deeply internalized this attitude and who can make it work for them. At a "fair" (*paṭa* in Hindi and Santali) more than half the Santal present said that fairs are bad; "at these fairs we only run around like dogs and spend our money"; but they were participating nevertheless and having considerable "pleasure."

[871] It is a fact that many Santal fail in school because they are lured away from their studies by the traditional "pleasure" activities. Similarly, there are some absences without leave from [461] TISCO and some instances of coming to work drunk which are the result of too much "pleasure," particularly during festivals. Through songs, plays, speeches, and even prayers, the new cultural movement has succeeded in making most Santal feel that they ought not to over-indulge; but it would be too much to say that it has succeeded in changing the dominant motif of Santal culture. However, the commitment to personal and tribal mobility and the inhibition of "pleasure" are continually reinforced by the obvious increase in the possibilities of advancement.

[861] It is not yet common in the villages but everywhere apparent in the *bustees* and in Jamshedpur that fathers scold their children for wasting time and remind them that if they do not study they shall end up "throwing about dung" or performing other menial jobs requiring hard and undignified labor. Most

2: Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

556

they cause themselves to be fined on account of transgressions and thereby become paupers; how should such people become wealthy?

426

Some people become worn out by constantly having to pay off the debts of their father; they are unable to raise themselves, they live pressed down under debts; the money-lenders charge an extremely high interest, and they keep accounts unrighteously. If you fall into the hands of a usurer, you will even in three, four generations certainly not be able to pay and free yourself. Your calves and goats, your cows and buffaloes, your kodalis and axes, your paddy and rice they will unjustly take away, and if you forbid them, they will thrash you and strip you.

But if people live along in the Santal country as paupers, while they have the full use of hands and feet, then this is surely mostly due to their own fault. People who have no plough-cattle will easily be able to get hired bullocks at four rupees yearly. And people who have many children are able to exchange service for bullocks. Or they are able to plough by exchange of labour and bullocks. Exchange of labour and bullocks is as follows: A man ploughs two days for the owner and gets breakfast with him, and then he ploughs one day for himself. The exchange of service for bullocks is as follows: A man's son works as servant with the owner of the plough-cattle, and his wages are the hire of a pair of plough-cattle. With the exception of a few landlords they do not take unjust rent. For every unit (rɛk) of land a rent of six or seven rupees has to be paid, and with one unit (rɛk) they earn so much in crops that the landowner gets one seventh part and the farmer six sevenths. And people who have freshly reclaimed land get more. The meaning of freshly reclaimed land is as follows: When they found a village, they will, when four or five years have passed, divide the land into units. So many residents as there are at that time, into so many units they will divide the land, and the landlord will get rent for each (rɛk) unit. At first they have to pay five four-anna bits for each unit. When they have had the use of it for about five years, the landowner will charge more per unit. But it will continue to be the same unit (rɛk), however much fresh ground they break up. When new settlers come, the old settlers will give them about one fourth part of their respective units, and they will divide the rent. Thereupon the old resident and the new resident will, both of them, clear fresh land and make boundaries; this they call khɛ̄rti (freshly reclaiming additional land). However much they may go on reclaiming fresh land, their rent will not be increased thereby; they will only have to pay the rent of the original unit (rɛk). But because they are lazy, some people do not reclaim fresh land; when the landowner raises the rent of people, such ones will feel it heavy, naturally not so those who have reclaimed fresh land.

461 •

Lazy people do not work carefully; they plough negligently, as it may go. When such people have just a little, their only interest is to eat and drink and lie down to sleep; they become paupers, what else can happen to them?

3t Mukherjea O, Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1902
AW42 Santal AW42
MAYURBHANJ

562 not get drunk." Only if we had not seen women
273 babbling in drunken brawl with the introduction of the outstill system in the Santal Parganas, and had not educated Santals at Baripada told us an opposite tale, . . we could thoroughly agree with her sex-patriotism, if such a phrase is permissible.

562 In house-construction, however, the division of
342 labour has a nicety of its own, for, we learn, the
784 women cannot sit upon a thatch except on pain of
[783] social excommunication. Such a pollution can only
[462] be expatiated by *Pujas* to the god "Dhòròm." So by its very necessity, house-building is man's
562 preserve. A quite similar taboo attaches to them
784 during funerals when according to custom, women
764 cannot accompany the procession beyond the limits of the village where the death occurred.

464 Santal men engaged in the police service were
625 highly spoken of by the Superintendent of Police,
159 Mayurbhanj, as efficient, obedient and hard-working. Asked if their drink-habit was not a hindrance to them, he was emphatic that it did not matter at all. Mr. Mahanty, a Deputy Magistrate, spoke in a similar strain about his Santal employees.

562 And we have seen women at work, at work
461 during the heat-wave of the Santal Parganas when all nature flies indoors, women singing at their work, punctual to a fault and hard-working to a painful extent. But, if her hour of work is seven a.m.

31 Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1902
AW42 Santal AW42
MAYURBHANJ

and she happens to be late by half-an-hour, she will smile and show you the sun, saying "I won't work. I am late." "But you may be late and still you may work," you may protest. "A day is being lost for you." "*Baṅ*," she will quietly answer. "*Baṅ*" means 'No' and Santal traditions are silent if Thàkur Jiu taught them during the days of Pilcu Haram and Pilcu Budhi, "Don't yield after saying *Baṅ*."

562 461 • [192] [773] [577]

Tribal Division

We have already seen that the clans mentioned number twelve according to Santal traditions, referred to at length in the first chapter. Now let us place side by side the names of these clans as investigated by ethnologists of repute and workers amongst the Santals, maintaining, so far as possible, the spellings as adopted by them, together with our list obtained from Mayurbhanj.

614

The task of finding out the meanings of the clan names is a difficult but interesting task facing an ethnologist. In the previous pages we have already given the reader an idea of the genesis of the clan-names according to tradition. Old Santals, when questioned at Mayurbhanj, gave conflicting versions of the popular tradition. But the meaning of at least a few of them are very clear. Thus "Hansdak'," certainly refers to the goose. "Hans"

[192]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 101]

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

241 on a steep hill-side; when the wood of the felled 171 trees is dry, generally toward the end of the hot season, it is burned. In this way the ground is cleared, and when the rains set in, the seed is sown without any ploughing. The present-day Paharias make small holes with a crow-bar and drop the seed into the holes, especially of bajra, Sorghum vulgare Pers., of maize and of a few other kinds. This is all, except that they may 241 pluck away weeds. It is said that when the Santals in former times followed a similar mode of cultivation they simply sowed the seed (especially bajra) at the top of the cleared hill-side, the spreading being left to the water of the rains flowing down; in some cases, a branch of a thorn-tree (Zizyphus Jujuba Lam.) is said to have been pressed into a flat shape and dragged over the ground to spread the seed".

243 From early morning till evening they work in the [46] field. Rice is their staple food; in it wealth is reck- 556 oned and from it they obtain their drink. Both sexes [262] work in the field. Every man tries to secure agricultural [462] fields near his house and also near a streamlet flowing. They cultivate their soil and also gather natural produce when their crops do not grow due to want of rain or for some other reasons. The Santals prepare two kinds of rice field. One type is adjoining their houses, the other is at some distance away from their houses, which is on high land.

Preparation of ricefield:— After selecting the site, the Santals clear the field of jungle and vegetation. Then they surround it with ridges but if the land is slopy then they make the ridge only on the lower [412] side. With the hoe and a heavy leveller (karha) they [407]

St Culshaw M-5 (1932-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

sand on the pathways becomes unbearably hot for our feet. Pigs were killed at dawn, cut, and the meat was roasted first thing so that it would be ready when the people returned home. The day turned out to be very warm. Some men went into the village of G—— because of their thirst to get a drink of beer, and they said: 'One pice worth of beer from G —— is as good as six pice of beer from that other place.' " The market is the main shopping centre for the villagers. There are cloth stalls and stalls of imported trinkets and ornaments. Potters, weavers, blacksmiths, purveyors of "medicines" and many others display their wares. The Santals may have grain for sale in a good year; they sell fowls and vegetables and buy their salt and cooking oil regularly, with other commodities at need. The market is a great place for the exchange of gossip, for meeting friends and relatives; it is here that many flirtations begin and matches are set in hand.

Nevertheless, the main business of the Santals' life, round which most of their activities centre, is to wrest from the poor soil the greatest possible amount of food. The struggle leaves little time for philosophizing, but they do sometimes crystallize in a phrase some bitter lesson from experience, as when they say: "Rain in the morning, like a friendship that is easily made, does not last." They work as hard as their social obligations allow. There is nothing distinctive in their methods of agriculture, and for generations they have been accustomed to settled cultivation and the use of the plough. The division of labour between men and women, the taboo against women handling the plough, they share with the surrounding culture. They observe the same propitious days and seasons for sowing and reaping as their neighbours. A great authority on the Santals has said:[1] "They are on their way to becoming agriculturalists, but are, as yet, far behind. . . . They have not as yet learnt the need for and the benefits of weeding and manuring, or of changing the crops, and much more. For example, they do not take proper care of their cattle. These are mostly herded by children, who use much of the time for their own games and pleasures. When the paddy is harvested, the cattle are permitted to roam about. A direct result of this is that it is impossible for people to have any crops standing after the middle of December or thereabouts; the cattle would

[1] P. O. Bodding, *Studies in Santal Medicine and Connected Folklore*, Pt. III, "How the Santals live", *Memoirs of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1940, Vol. X, No. 3, p. 431.